5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McCafferty, 1932, p. 44).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 467) for the second third of the 18th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chiloteans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), pargins (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Parastacus* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Aenphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (Pizura) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: *Nets* of bark, of sheepen (*Ovigia sphaeroides*), and, later, of hemp; pounces and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 180); *fykes* of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); *hook* (of thorn, bone, or wood) and *line*; *spears*, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and *weirs* of brambles, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Oliverus, 1874, p. 366). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febres, 1882, s. v. ricotin; Hervas, 1889, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metates and two-handed cylindrical mullers (Ovalle, 1888, 13: 188; Claude Joseph, 1901, pp. 40-41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or *rayi*; and parched, or *mitchi*. From the first was made a bread, *kofke*, in the form of flat cakes, or *tortillas*, baked on stone, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven therefor was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham,[7] 1909, p. 243 [pan-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of *boroyan*, tree, mango, and leaves. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 703.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and smoked or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

10: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1953
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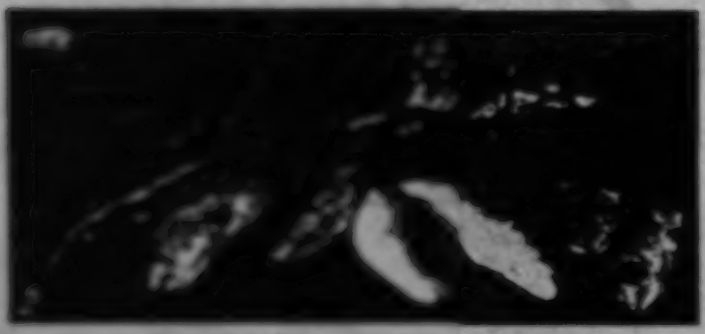
• 226

[50]



Fishing in the Pacific Ocean (Araucanians). 1, Two fishermen landing their boat; 2, Boat that is ready to depart; 3, Fish being carried on shore in net and sack.

[p.192(H)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

sheep to comfort them, and made sure that our dogs were on the alert," they said. 224

Pumas were eaten only occasionally in former times; today they are eaten whenever one is caught. Tigers and vemow are no longer seen in the areas; deer, rarely. Tigers, vemow, and rabbits were never eaten. "Most certainly not rabbits; they are like rats." Rabbits are very destructive, and while I was in the area, several young men of Alepún spent Sunday afternoons shooting them with a rifle owned by one of the men. Occasionally young men trap skunks and sell their hides to Chilenos. [262]

Birds were caught to be eaten. They were enticed by seeds placed under a holstered-up, ladderlike framework, to which was attached a cord held by the hunter. When the cord was pulled the stick holding up the framework was released and the birds were either killed by the fall of the framework or trapped, depending on their size. Schoolgirls in Panguipulli caught wild birds in this manner. They trapped pijueos at school by using a window screen, in place of the ladderlike framework. Favorite birds caught by old men when they were boys were the jilguero and the chunchún. These same men had taken birds in simple noose snares of horsehair, using wild seeds as bait. 223

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 705), fish taken were mullets, flatfish, perpies and silversides; chief among the shellfish were sea urchins, crustaceans, probably also marine crabs of several species, bivalves, and ascidians or sea squirts. They were taken with nets of bark, of chupón, and, later, of hemp; with pouches and baskets which were baited and put under water; with fykes of quila; with line and hooks of thorn, bone, or wood; with spears, including a three-pronged one; with clubs with studded heads; and with weirs of branches. Small lagoons and still waters in streams were poisoned with canelo. Hunting for whale was not reported. 226

Alepún area men today fish in the Pacific for corbina (hoikhoiko), sierras (sawfish), and robalo (kadwa). Several men together usually build and own a fishing boat propelled by sails (pl. 41, *1*). On favorable days as many as 10 or more of these boats sail out into the waters off the Alepún area coast. If the catch is small, families eat the fish immediately; if large, the fish are sold either fresh, sun-dried (pl. 41, *3*), or slightly smoked over the fireplace. An oversupply is sun-dried or smoked and consumed by the family within several days. Woods that give the best flavor to smoked fish are huahuan, tineo (coihue-raulí), and olivillo. Ulmo is next best and is used when the better woods are not available. [251]

Toward the end of the day, the wives of the fishermen can be seen

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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● 226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *i*, *j*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned the fish. A whalebone-like implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal. [482]

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kanko (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as cuncha, loko, cuallihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'uhuntun. Machas bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she finds the machas, which she then digs out by hand.

Lokos and cuallihues attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a screwdriver-like iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ¼ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "It is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal. [483]

TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 710), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kalkal), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for load transportation.

[485] 486 Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, simple vegetables and sacs of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *j*;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Hunted were chased to exhaustion by dogs, and then hunted.

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits and birds in a manner as formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by food, such as grass seeds. The hunter swiftly pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs.

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the meat of the small ones best."

Fish native to Araucanía lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (*mauli* or *lauke*); the pabellón (*pabelo* or *pabelilla*), a catfishlike fish; the trucha criolla or perca (*lipay*); the *canque* (*canklin*); and the *puyen* (*epuch*).

In the first decade of the 1900's, Araucanía lakes and rivers were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Moesers, 1910, pp. 101-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marrón or trucha europea; and the salmón. Informants resented the salmón or attributed the native pejerrey and pabellón from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Pools and *canques* were spawned from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long cylindric pole pronged at the smaller end in leaflike fashion with four or five thinner, sharply pointed cylindric sticks (Informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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● 226 the point where the fishermen stood. Kidapan had spurred fish both ways.

When water was low enough for persons to walk in the stream with ease, men and women fished jointly. They entered the stream in semicircular arrangement, elbow to elbow, near the confluence of two rivers or of a river and a lake, and proceeded upstream. Each man held before him in the water a container, either an open sack of hide or a homespun rug shaped like a receptacle, and each woman held a piece of chamall (homespun cloth). As the men and women moved forward, fish were trapped in the containers. If the catch was big, the women often sorted out the small fish and dropped them into their blouses; large fish were thrown onto the shore to be picked up later. Before setting out to fish a prayer was said—a short one if only a few fish were to be caught. My informant recited the following short one in Araucanian: "My God, help us to catch fish. We are leaving home now to catch fish. May God help us." "If we went for a big haul we said a much longer prayer."

It sometimes happened that there were too few men and women for a close semicircular formation. In that event the men made a trap by attaching a piece of woven material, known as matra, lengthwise to a long collible stalk. Several men held both ends of the stalk slightly above water, bending it somewhat to form a semicircle; other men walked immediately behind so as to keep the matra in vertical position. The women and any men not needed as the trap had in the meantime walked some distance upstream, on the shore. They now walked slowly downstream in the water making a slight noise, thus causing the fish to swim downstream toward the trap. When a goodly number of fish had collected close to the matra, the men behind it lifted the bottom of it forward, forming a bowl-shaped trap in which the fish were caught and lifted out of the water. The matra was then carried ashore and emptied. If the catch was too small the trapping was repeated.

If only a small number of fish was desired two men walked upstream, each grasping the shorter end of a matra that was weighted down with stones attached at intervals. As fish approached the matra, the men caught them by hand and threw them onto the shore. Matras used in fishing were usually from 4 to 6 yards in length and 4 feet in width. Sometimes several women just sat for a walk along a stream would catch by hand any fish that swam their way, and carry them home in their blouses. Fish were never sunbleached.

At no time were small children allowed around where elders were fishing. "The less noise there was, the more the fish behaved."

Children by themselves, however, faked as their elders did. Today faking may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the Argentine Government.

Formerly a twelve shellfish called manta was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shore at low.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

their use for subsistence, customs connected, etc.

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was steamed guanaco lung, known as apell. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then cooked on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apell today from the lung of a horse, sheep, calf, or goat; apell is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted sharpside in the ground. Other meats broiled in the spit fashion were puma, wild boar, horse, guanaco, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grains—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An overweight of meat was stored as jerked meat (apiñe [illegible]). It was cut into thin slices, salt was sprinkled with into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, f) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

Ii:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Of a total of 248 hectares, approximately 150 are
cultivated, 90 are vega and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
rest either vega that is too swampy for use or land bordering the new-
ly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the
north-northeast. More than half the land is *alturo*, but the ratio of
vega and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than
three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under pres-
ent conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo,
where most land is *alturo* and the vega that exists is suitable for pas-
turing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but
the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and
wheat are grown in successive years on *alturo*. In the *baja*, potatoes
and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not
grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight
which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same
amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some
years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to
those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial mini-
mum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 3 or 6:1 and are
said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maxi-
mum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 17 horses, and 134 sheep,
in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these
animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alon-
queo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available
on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
the radicación, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agri-
cultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being
the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chaura-*
rio, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
were not tapped.